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FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9514

INFO RUEHBE/AMEMBASSY BEIRUT IMMEDIATE 0238

RUEHJI/AMEMBASSY JIODA IMMEDIATE 8027

RUEHMA/USLO RIYADH IMMEDIATE 1891

RUEHGC/AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 0393

RUEHDM/AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS PRIORITY 8435

RUEHJM/AMCONSUL JERUSALEM PRIORITY 1369

RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY 5356

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FROM HADID

E.O. 12356: DECLASSIFIED

TAGS: PEPR, HOPS, SY, JO, US, LL

SUBJECT: HADID'S SEPTEMBER 26 MEETING WITH KING HUSSEIN

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.

State Dept. review completed

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2. SUMMARY: I HAD A TWO AND ONE-HALF HOUR WORKING LUNCH WITH KING HUSSEIN AND HIS TOP AIDES SEPTEMBER 26. OUR TALKS COVERED THE FULL RANGE OF DEVELOPMENTS IN LEBANON AND THE FUTURE OF THE PEACE PROCESS (SEPTEL). ON LEBANON I OUTLINED U.S. OBJECTIVES IN LEBANON FULLY AND HUSSEIN RESPONDED WITH STRONG SUPPORT FOR OUR EFFORTS. HE IS SOLIDLY BEHIND AMIN GEMAYEL AND SAID JORDAN WANTS TO HELP THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT. AT THE SAME TIME HUSSEIN MADE A MAJOR POINT THAT U.S. CREDIBILITY HAD BEEN DAMAGED BY THE ISRAELI MOVE INTO WEST BEIRUT AND THE MASSACRE AT SABRA AND SHATILA. HE ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE FATE OF THE PALESTINIANS REMAINING IN LEBANON, PARTICULARLY THOSE PRISONERS HELD BY THE ISRAELIS. END SUMMARY.

3. I HAD A TWO AND ONE-HALF HOUR MEETING AND MORNING LUNCHEON WITH KING HUSSEIN AT NADWAH PALACE ON SEPT. 26. AMBASSADOR VIETS AND DCM DJEREJIAN ACCOMPANIED ME. ON THE JORDANIAN SIDE THE PARTICIPANTS INCLUDED CROWN PRINCE HASSAN, PRIME MINISTER BADRAN, CINC LT. GENERAL BIN SHAKER, ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER HASAN IBRAHIM, CHIEF OF THE ROYAL CABINET AHMAD AL-LOZI AND COURT MINISTER AMER KHAMMASH. IN THE TALKS ABOUT LEBANON THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS WERE DISCUSSED:

SITUATION IN BEIRUT AND WITHDRAWAL ISSUES

4. I BRIEFED THE KING IN CONSIDERABLE DETAIL ON THE LEBANESE SITUATION AND OUR POLICY OBJECTIVES AT THIS PARTICULAR JUNCTURE. IN EXPLAINING OUR GOALS IN LEBANON I SAID THE PRESIDENT IS COMMITTED TO: (1) REMOVAL OF ALL ISRAELI FORCES FROM BEIRUT SO THAT IT CAN ONCE AGAIN BECOME THE CAPITAL OF A SOVEREIGN LEBANESE STATE. (2) HELPING THE GOL TO REASSERT ITS FULL AUTHORITY FOLLOWING AMIN GEMAYEL'S INAUGURATION AND, (3) HASTENING THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL EXTERNAL FORCES FROM LEBANON. AT THE SAME TIME I SAID THE PRESIDENT IS INSISTENT THAT ALL OF THIS BE DONE IN CONJUNCTION WITH CONTINUING MOMENTUM IN THE PEACE PROCESS. THE TRAGIC

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EVENTS IN BEIRUT REPRESENT A ROADBLOCK TO THESE EFFORTS, BUT CERTAINLY NOT A TOTAL IMPASSE. THEY SHOULD NOT HOLD UP THE FORWARD MOVEMENT ON THE PRESIDENT'S PEACE INITIATIVE.

5. I THEN BRIEFED HUSSEIN ON THE DETAILS OF OUR PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ISRAELIS ON BEIRUT, INCLUDING THE ISSUES OF THE IDF PRESENCE IN BEIRUT AND THE AIRPORT AND THE PROBLEM OF IDF LOGISTICAL ROUTES AROUND THE CITY. I TOLD HUSSEIN WE ARE TELLING THE ISRAELIS THAT A RETURN TO THE SEPTEMBER 15 IDF LINES IS NOT GOOD ENOUGH AND THAT THE IDF MUST REDEPLOY OUT OF THE BEIRUT AREA. I ALSO EXPLAINED THE ROLE OF THE LARGER MNF, AS AN INTERPOSITION FORCE (1) TO PROTECT THE HEART OF THE CITY; (2) TO REASSURE THE PEOPLE IN THE CAMPS THAT THERE WILL BE NO REPRESSIONS AND (3) TO PROVIDE A CLEAR AREA IN THE CENTER OF THE CITY WHERE THE GOL CAN ESTABLISH ITS AUTHORITY. ALL OF THIS, I STRESSED, WE HOPE TO ACCOMPLISH IN A SHORT TIME WITH THE MNF FULLY OPERATING NO LATER THAN WEDNESDAY MORNING.

WITHDRAWAL OF ALL EXTERNAL FORCES

6. I EMPHASIZED THAT ALL OF THESE MOVES ARE INTENDED AS THE BEGINNING OF A PROCESS LEADING TO TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL EXTERNAL FORCES FROM LEBANON, INCLUDING THE SYRIANS, ISRAELIS AND THE REMAINING 5,000-6,000 PLO FIGHTERS IN THE NORTH AND THE DEKAA. WITH REGARD TO THE PLO TROOPS, I SAID, SOMETHING HAS TO BE DONE SOON BECAUSE THESE PEOPLE ARE ENGAGING IN DANGEROUS MILITARY ACTIONS. TO ACHIEVE TOTAL WITHDRAWAL, I SAID,

EXCIS

WE ARE THINKING IN TERMS OF THE SIMULTANEOUS WITHDRAWAL OF IDF AND SYRIAN FORCES, ALTHOUGH WE HAVE TO AVOID TALKING ABOUT MUTUAL WITHDRAWAL. WE THINK SYRIA IS PREPARED TO GET OUT OF LEBANON, ESPECIALLY SINCE ITS MILITARY POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE IDF IS PRECARIOUS. (I TOLD HUSSEIN I HOPED TO SEE PRESIDENT ASSAD EVEN

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THOUGH HE IS PRESENTLY ON VACATION TO TALK ABOUT WITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON.) HE WILL BE EXPLORING A WAY TO ARRANGE ISRAELI AND SYRIAN WITHDRAWAL, LOOKING AT A FRAMEWORK BASED EITHER ON WITHDRAWAL IN PHASES OR WITHIN A SPECIFIC PERIOD OF TIME. AMBASSADOR DRAPER, I SAID, WOULD BE STAYING IN THE AREA TO WORK OUT THESE ARRANGEMENTS. I NOTED THAT I WILL COME BACK TO THE AREA FROM TIME TO TIME WHENEVER IT BECOMES NECESSARY. HUSSEIN ASKED IF THE ISRAELIS WERE REALLY SERIOUS ABOUT MOVING OUT OF LEBANON. I SAID THAT SHARON EXPLICITLY TOLD ME THAT THEY WERE PREPARED TO MOVE OUT. IN RESPONSE TO HIS QUERY OF HOW LONG IT WOULD TAKE, I TOLD HUSSEIN THAT I AM THINKING OF WEEKS, AND I HOPE WE CAN GET THINGS MOVING IN THIS TIMEFRAME.

PROSPECTS FOR THE NEW LEBANESE GOVERNMENT

7. IN RESPONSE TO HUSSEIN'S QUESTIONS ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR THE AMIN, GENAYEL GOVERNMENT, I NOTED THAT THERE SEEMS TO BE SOME RETURN TO THE TRADITIONAL POLITICAL CONSENSUS APPROACH TO POLITICS. AMIN, I SAID, IS A STRONGER LEADER THAN PEOPLE THOUGHT HE WOULD BE. HE DEFINITELY WANTS TO ESTABLISH A RECONCILIATION PROCESS WITH THE MUSLIMS, ESPECIALLY WITH THE SUNNIS, SINCE HE ALREADY HAS GENERAL SUPPORT FROM THE SHI'AS. AMIN RETAINS SOME RELATIONS WITH ALL OF THEM, WHEREAS BASHIR DID NOT. WALID JUMBLATT WOULD NOT RPT NOT MEET WITH BASHIR, BUT AMIN HAS MAINTAINED HIS CONTACTS WITH SAEB SALAAM AND TAGIADDIN SULH, FOR EXAMPLE. HUSSEIN RESPONDED SAYING, "WE WANT TO BE HELPFUL TO LEBANON." HE SAID THAT AMIN HAS A GOOD POLITICAL FOUNDATION. HE WISHED HIM WELL. I MENTIONED THAT AMIN WAS VERY GRATEFUL FOR THE KING'S MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS ON HIS INAUGURATION AND NOTED THAT THE SYRIANS HAVE TAKEN A MORE FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE TO AMIN'S ELECTION THAN THAT OF BASHIR'S. I ALSO MENTIONED THAT I TOLD ISKALLIS AT EVERY LEVEL NOT RPT NOT TO SMOTHER AMIN AND I HOPED THIS MIGHT MOVE THE ISRAELIS AWAY FROM PRESSING THE IDEA OF

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A PEACE TREATY WITH LEBANON.

U.S. CREDIBILITY AND ISRAEL

8. THE KING SAID THE MASSACRES AT THE SHATILA/JABHA PALESTINIAN CAMPS AND THE DEEP IMPACT THIS INCIDENT HAS HAD ON ARAB PUBLIC OPINION. HE SAID U.S. CREDIBILITY HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY PLACED IN DOUBT AND THE PERCEPTION REMAINS THAT ISRAEL CAN PURSUE ITS INTERESTS AND ITS POLITIES WITHOUT ANY REAL COSTS IN TERMS OF U.S. BACKING. THE KING SAID THAT AS LONG AS U.S. ECONOMIC AID AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE FLOW TO ISRAEL IN THE QUANTITIES THEY DO, THE ISRAELIS WILL NOT BE REINED IN. THEY WILL NOT REACT TO "U.S. ANGER" ONLY. I TOLD THE KING OF THE DEPTH OF U.S. REACTION TO THE MASSACRES. I HAD BEEN GIVEN ASSURANCES BY BASHIR THAT NO ACTION WOULD BE TAKEN AGAINST THE PALESTINIANS REMAINING IN THE CAMPS AND BY THE ISRAELIS THAT THEY WOULD NOT ENTER WEST BEIRUT. ON THE BASIS OF THOSE ASSURANCES WE HAD GIVEN OUR WORD. WE HAD BEEN DECEIVED. THIS IS A PRINCIPAL REASON WHY PRESIDENT REAGAN IS SO UPSET. AND IS A MAJOR REASON FOR THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION TO SEND THE MARINES BACK TO BEIRUT.

9. HUSSEIN SAID THAT THE SHATILA/SABRA MASSACRES WILL GO DOWN IN HISTORY ALONG WITH OTHER EVENTS PERPETRATED BY THE ISRAELIS SUCH AS DEIR YASSIN. THE ISRAELIS SIMPLY WANT TO SOW PANIC AMONG THE PALESTINIANS AND SCARE THEM OUT. THIS IS AKIN TO WHAT THEY ARE TRYING TO DO IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. THE ISRAELIS MUST KNOW THAT THEIR ACTIONS HURT THE U.S. PRESIDENT'S POSITION AND THAT OF THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION. THEY CERTAINLY KNEW WHAT ARAB REACTION WOULD BE AND THAT THE REACTION WOULD

EXCIS

JUNK AGAINST U.S. INTERESTS IN THE ARAB WORLD. I

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TOLD HUSSEIN THAT WE ARE URGENTLY TRYING TO PUT THE LEBANESE PIECES TOGETHER AGAIN AS EVIDENCED BY OUR QUICKLY MOVING TO RE-ESTABLISH THE MNF ALONG WITH THE CLEAR STATEMENTS OF U.S. POLICY AND OBJECTIVES ENUNCIATED BY THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY. THE REACTION TO THE MASSACRES IN ISRAEL ITSELF, INCLUDING YESTERDAY'S PROTEST DEMONSTRATION BY SOME 400,000 PEOPLE, IS INDICATIVE OF THE POLITICAL COSTS THE PRESENT ISRAELI GOVERNMENT IS PAYING FOR THIS TRAGIC INCIDENT. I ALSO SAID THAT U.S. REACTION WAS MORE THAN TEMPORARY. THE ISRAELIS HAD LOST A GREAT DEAL IN TERMS OF THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. THIS LOSS PRE-DATED THE SHATILAH TRAGEDY.

10. I ASKED HUSSEIN WHAT HE THOUGHT SHOULD BE DONE ABOUT THE FIVE TO SIX THOUSAND PALESTINIAN MILITIA REMAINING IN LEBANON, IN THE BEKAA AND NORTH IN TRIPOLI. HUSSEIN EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN OVER THEIR FATE, AND THE FATE OF THOSE PALESTINIAN PRISONERS WHO ARE BEING HELD BY THE ISRAELIS. HE SAID THERE SHOULD BE SOME TYPE OF PLO REPRESENTATION IN LEBANON WITH ALL THE RESTRAINTS THE GOL REQUIRED. HUSSEIN HAD NO READY ANSWER AS TO HOW BEST HANDLE THE QUESTION OF THE PALESTINIANS IN LEBANON AND SAID HE HOPED THIS HUMANITARIAN CONCERN COULD BE ADDRESSED IN SOME PRACTICAL WAY.

11. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED FOR BEIRUT. VIETS

END OF MESSAGE

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